

# Exhibit BBB

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA**

**Case No. 1:23-cv-00878-TDS-JEP**

DEMOCRACY NORTH CAROLINA;  
NORTH CAROLINA BLACK ALLIANCE;  
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF  
NORTH CAROLINA,

*Plaintiffs,*

vs.

ALAN HIRSCH, in his official capacity as  
CHAIR OF THE STATE BOARD OF  
ELECTIONS; JEFF CARMON III, in his  
official capacity as SECRETARY OF THE  
STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS; STACY  
EGGERS IV, in his official capacity as  
MEMBER OF THE STATE BOARD OF  
ELECTIONS; KEVIN LEWIS, in his official  
capacity as MEMBER OF THE STATE  
BOARD OF ELECTIONS; SIOBHAN  
O'DUFFY MILLEN, in her official capacity  
as MEMBER OF THE STATE BOARD OF  
ELECTIONS; KAREN BRINSON BELL, in  
her official capacity as EXECUTIVE  
DIRECTOR OF THE STATE BOARD OF  
ELECTIONS; NORTH CAROLINA STATE  
BOARD OF ELECTIONS,

*Defendants.*

**EXPERT REPORT OF DR. JACOB M. GRUMBACH**

March 5, 2025

**I. Executive Summary**

1. I am currently an Associate Professor at the Goldman School of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley. I was retained by Plaintiffs in this action to analyze whether North Carolina Senate Bill 747's (hereafter "SB 747") changes to same day voter registration impact the ballot access afforded to younger Americans. I also provide context around youth voting, including generational political polarization and recent trends related to restrictions on youth voting in light of this polarization.

2. In formulating this analysis, I draw upon original analysis and social science and legal literature related to young people in American democracy, election policy and administration, and, specifically, same day voter registration. These are standard methods in political science and related social science disciplines.

3. Overall, it is my expert opinion that:

- a. Generational polarization in political values and attitudes is substantial and increasing in recent years.
- b. Younger Americans are underrepresented in elected office, and their preferences are underrepresented in public policy outcomes. Some of this underrepresentation stems from electoral policies and administration.
- c. Due to generational polarization in political values and attitudes, state governments have pursued legislation that seeks to reduce the voter turnout of younger Americans.
- d. SB 747's enactment is consistent with the broader trend of legislation that seeks to reduce the voter turnout of younger Americans.
- e. Young people are disproportionately likely to face barriers to voting related to residential mobility, including issues related to physical mail.
- f. Expansions of same day voter registration increase the turnout of younger Americans, and restrictions on same day voter registration reduce the turnout of younger Americans. Compared to the other 20 states with same day registration, North Carolina's same day registration system is already restrictive because it does not allow for same day registration on Election Day.
- g. SB 747 would make North Carolina's same day registration system more restrictive, especially for younger North Carolinians, by adding a new postal verification requirement for retrievable ballots.

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- h. Because voting behavior is habitual, making it more difficult for young people to vote is especially impactful over long stretches of time.

4. Taken together, I conclude that SB 747 makes it more challenging for younger Americans to participate in the electoral process. As discovery is ongoing, I reserve the right to add to or otherwise modify this report based on information that may come to light.

5. My full analysis is included below, including my qualifications and methodology (Section II), analysis of political attitudes across generational cohorts (Section III), analysis showing that younger Americans are underrepresented in politics (Section IV), analysis of motivations for and attempts to reduce younger Americans' voter turnout (Section V), analysis of the relationships between age, residential mobility, and voting (Section VI), analysis of how same day registration policies impact youth turnout (Section VII) and analysis of age and voting habit formation (Section VIII).

## II. Qualifications and Methodology

6. I am Associate Professor of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley. Prior to this appointment, I was an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Washington and a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics at Princeton University. I received my PhD in Political Science in 2018 from the University of California, Berkeley.

7. I teach graduate-level courses in statistical methods for graduate students in public policy at UC Berkeley, as well as courses on state and local politics and policy, labor policy, and U.S. democracy.

8. I regularly conduct peer reviews for academic journals in the areas of political science, public policy, and political economy.

9. My research uses statistical methods in the areas of politics and public policy. My research has appeared in top political science journals, including *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Election Law Journal*, *Electoral Studies*, *Journal of Politics*, *Political Behavior*, *Political Research Quarterly*, as well as public health journals such as *American Journal of Public Health* and *Milbank Quarterly*. Some of my research focuses specifically on the quantitative analysis of election law, such as the effect of same day voter registration and mail ballot laws on voter turnout.

10. In this report, I use two methods to develop theory and empirical evidence related to the broader political and policy contexts of SB 747, as well as to the question of whether SB 747 would increase voting-related burdens for younger Americans. First, I draw on the secondary literature in political science and adjacent social science

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disciplines, including my own research (e.g., Grumbach and Hill 2022). I both review research findings and present specific results of quantitative analysis from the literature. Second, I conduct my own quantitative analysis of public opinion by age group using Cooperative Congressional Election Survey (CCES) and the General Social Survey (GSS), which are commonly used in peer reviewed political science and other social scientific research. I have conducted similar literature reviews and research throughout my career.

11. In the last four years, I have testified by deposition in three cases, *Aguilar v. Yakima County* (Superior Court of Washington), *Contreras v. Illinois State Board of Elections* (United States District Court Northern District of Illinois), and *LULAC v. Abbott* (United States District Court Western District of Texas). I have also provided an expert report for *Krabach v. King County* (United States District Court Western District of Washington).

12. I have attached my current CV as Exhibit A to this report. I am being compensated at a rate of \$350 per hour. My expert opinion is not dependent on any payment.

### III. Political Attitudes across Generational Cohorts

13. In this section I analyze political attitudes across generational cohorts. This analysis is important because *polarization*—a situation in which groups’ political attitudes diverge—can generate incentives to exclude groups from the political process.

14. Conflict over democratic institutions stems, in part, from disagreements about whose political participation should be encouraged or discouraged. Some may want to discourage a group’s participation out of dislike or mistrust of that group, based on a variety of social or cultural factors. Others may want to discourage a group’s participation because they disagree with the group’s political values and preferences; they worry that too much participation from the group would lead to the election of bad politicians or the passing of bad policies. Either of these sentiments can provide a basis for animus against a particular group, and commensurately a desire to restrict that group’s political participation. Strong political disagreement—specifically, when groups’ values or policy views are far apart from each other—is called polarization (McCarty 2019).

15. *Generational polarization* occurs when the political attitudes of generational cohorts diverge. Today, generational polarization is substantial. Although extensive survey data is not available far back in time, it is clear that age polarization has grown over the past half-century (Munger 2022; Ghitza, Gelman, and Auerbach 2023). As Fisher (2020, 38) summarizes, “[c]ontemporary American politics is marked by an unusually substantial generation gap.”

16. Different age groups have different political opinions for two reasons: life-cycle effects and cohort effects. Under life-cycle effects, individuals' political views are shaped by the age they are currently, regardless of their generation. In other words, younger and older people have different views because they face different life circumstances. Whether you are from Gen Z or the Silent Generation, you are less likely to own a home and have children when you are young; you are more likely to be retired when you are older.

17. By contrast, *cohort effects* exist when, regardless of the age they are now, different generational cohorts have systematically different political attitudes. This occurs because different generations face different historical circumstances. Older members of the Baby Boomer generation may have been drafted to serve in the Vietnam War; Gen X came of age during the end of the Cold War; Gen Z is especially exposed to mass shootings, and so forth. An additionally important reason for cohort effects is the fact that Millennials and Gen Z are more racially diverse and more likely to be the children or grandchildren of immigrants than members of Gen X, Baby Boomers, and the Silent Generation.<sup>1</sup> Research on public opinion finds evidence of both life-cycle and cohort effects (e.g., Munger and Plutzer 2023), but with a priority for cohort effects (Ghitza, Gelman, and Auerbach 2023). The most comprehensive and rigorous analysis of this question concludes that “the data strongly support generational voting”<sup>2</sup> (Ghitza, Gelman, and Auerbach 2023, 536) due to the important role of formative political and life experiences that “occur largely between the ages of 14 and 24” (Ghitza, Gelman, and Auerbach 2023, 521).

18. Here I take a closer look at political attitudes and beliefs across age generations. First, I look at *political priorities*, the particular issues and problems that Americans believe are most important. There are large generational differences in Americans' political priorities. Figure 1 shows what Americans believe is the “most important problem” facing their generation.<sup>3</sup> Baby Boomers and members of Gen X tend to prioritize issues related to retirement such as Social Security. Millennial and Gen Z Americans, by contrast, tend to focus most on climate change and student debt. Gen Z is also the only generation to mention issues related to gun violence at a substantial rate.

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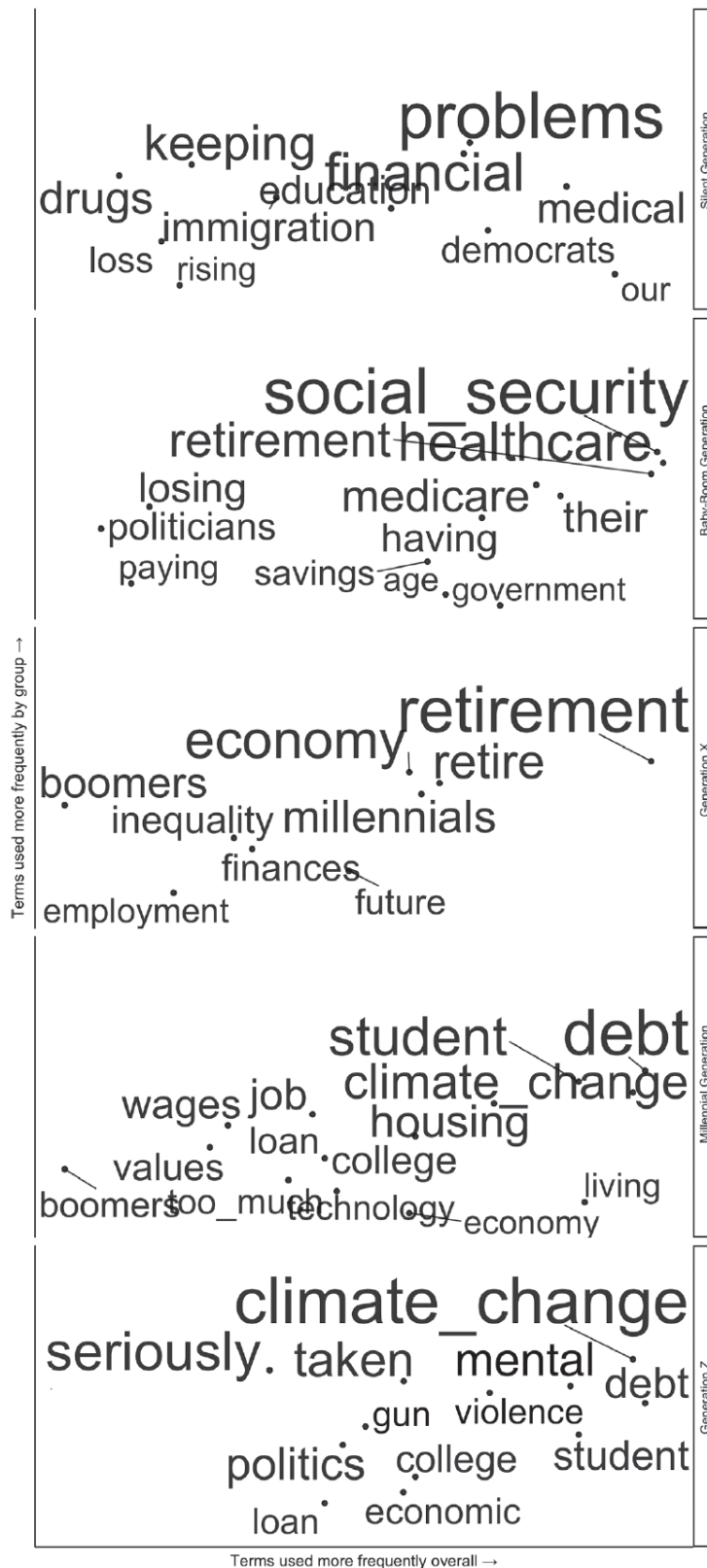
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<sup>1</sup> Importantly, generations *prior* to the Silent Generation were also very likely to be in immigrant families during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>2</sup> In this context, “generational voting” refers to Americans' age generation as being strongly predictive of their vote choice.

<sup>3</sup> The data comes from the Penn State McCourtney Institute for Democracy “Mood of the Nation” Poll (for further details see Munger and Plutzer 2023).

Figure 1: Most Important Problem by Generation



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19. The generation gaps do not only exist in which issues Americans care most about. They are also clear in terms of support for or opposition to major public policies and moral principles. In Figures 2 and 3, I provide new statistical analysis using data from the Cooperative Congressional Election Survey (CCES) and the General Social Survey (GSS), prominent surveys with sample sizes that allow me to investigate attitudes across generations.

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Figure 2: Political Attitudes by Generation (CCES Survey)



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20. Figures 2 and 3 show very clear differences in key political attitudes across generations. The key takeaway is that there are age gaps in opinions on important political and policy questions are substantial and consistently evident.<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that some of the survey questions tap into more fundamental personal values, and others on more specific public policy questions. In both contexts—whether it is a question about whether the respondent would support their close relative marrying someone from a different racial background, or questions about criminal justice or climate policy—the generation gaps in attitudes are stark. The generation gaps in attitudes rival and often surpass the differences in political attitudes that other research finds across racial groups in the U.S. (e.g., Aneja, Grumbach, and Wood 2022, 596).

21. These differences in political attitudes persist despite variation in attitudes between individuals within the same generation, and variation in the partisanship of different generations across elections. For example, a considerable amount of reporting has documented the shift of Gen Z (particularly Gen Z men) toward Donald Trump in the 2024 election, but this trend was negated by the fact that 1) Gen Z remained the most Democratic generation in 2024 voting, and 2) even the Gen Z voters who supported Donald Trump held distinct political attitudes compared to Trump voters from older generations.

22. As I describe in more detail in Section V of this Report, the large differences in opinion on major issues generated by generational polarization provide a *motive* for political actors to attempt to reduce the political participation of younger Americans.

#### **IV. Younger Americans Are Underrepresented in Politics**

23. An important piece of context for understanding any legislation that affects younger voters, such as SB747, is that younger Americans are starkly underrepresented in U.S. politics. This is clearly apparent when it comes to *descriptive representation*, the representation of age groups in elected office. Despite its relatively young population, the U.S. has the oldest politicians of any global democracy (see Figure 4; for further details see Bonica and Grumbach 2022). The descriptive representation of young people has worsened in recent decades. In the 97<sup>th</sup> Congress (1981-1983), the average U.S. House Representative was in his or her 40s and the average Senator in his or her early 50s; by the 118<sup>th</sup> Congress (2023-2024), the average U.S. House Representative and Senator is about 58 and 64 years old, respectively. State legislatures show only slightly better representation for younger Americans; in the North Carolina General Assembly, only 16 percent of lawmakers were under the age of 43 as of 2023.<sup>5</sup> This weak and declining

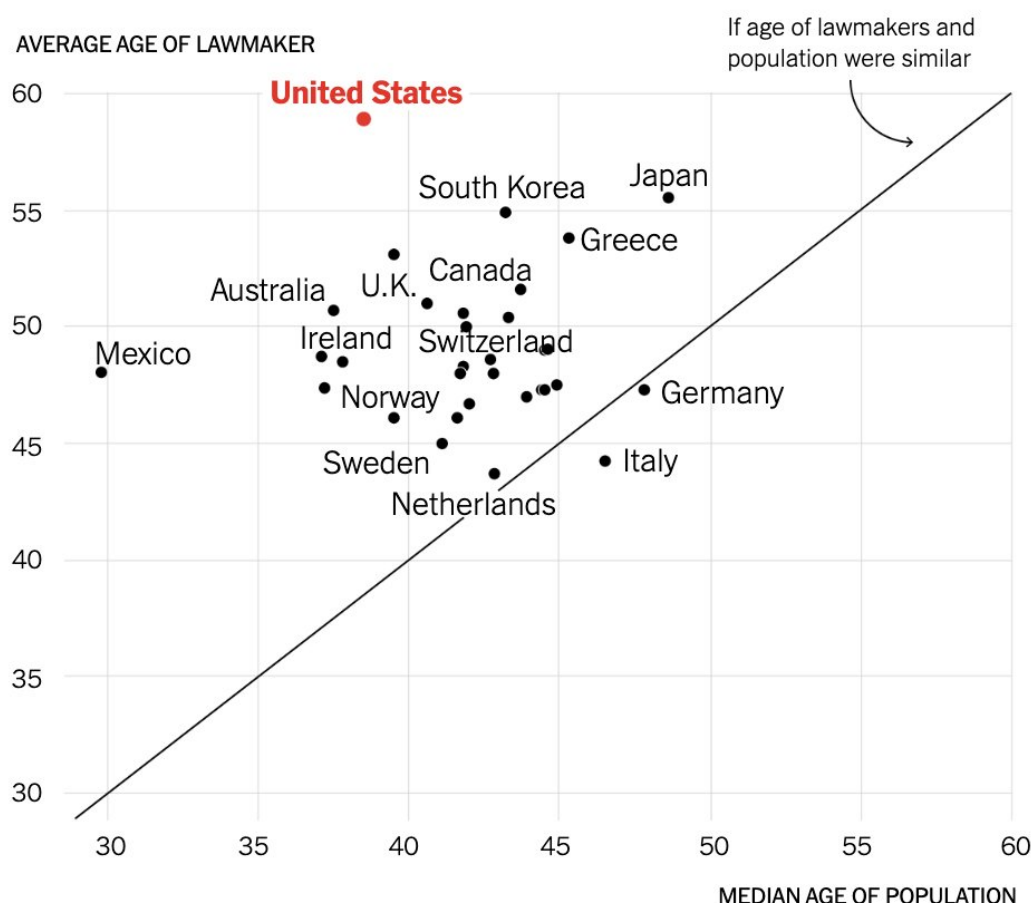
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<sup>4</sup> I have provided code and data files that can be used to reproduce Figures 2 and 3.

<sup>5</sup> Grace Vitaglione, *NC politics still a tough play for millennials and Gen Z*, CAROLINA PUBLIC PRESS (Sept. 20, 2023), <https://carolinapublicpress.org/61623/nc-politics-still-a-tough-play-for-millennials-and-gen-z/>.

representation of younger Americans has occurred during a time when many other historically underrepresented groups have increased their presence in U.S. elected offices. The descriptive representation of women and racial/ethnic minorities has grown dramatically in recent years (see, e.g., Dodson 2006), with record numbers of Asian, Black, Latino, and female legislators in the 118<sup>th</sup> Congress and many state legislatures.

**Figure 4: Younger Americans Are Underrepresented in Elected Office<sup>6</sup>**



24. Younger Americans also lag in *substantive representation*. Whereas descriptive representation captures whether the characteristics of elected leaders mirror those of the public, substantive representation occurs when elected leaders act based on the interests and preferences of their constituents.

<sup>6</sup> Note: Figure 1 is from Bui, Quoc Trung, *Chart of the Week*, N.Y. TIMES (Jan. 11, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/01/11/opinion/briefing#chart-of-the-week-americas-political-gerontocracy>. The figure is reformatted from Figure 1 from Bonica and Grumbach (2023).

25. The scholarly consensus is that descriptive and substantive representation tend to go together (Burden 2007). When members of a particular group (such as a protected class) in society are elected to office, they are more supportive of the group's political interests (Carnes 2012), more responsive to the policy goals of the group (Preuhs 2006), more likely to make legislative interventions at the request of members of that group (Lowande, Ritchie, and Lauterbach 2019), and more likely to respond to constituent correspondences from that group (Butler and Broockman 2011).

26. The underrepresentation of young people in elected offices leaves young people, as a group, with few legislative defenders of their political attitudes and interests. The descriptive underrepresentation of young people in American politics is one explanation for why U.S. public spending is less generous toward young people than that of other wealthy countries (Lynch 2006). This underrepresentation also leaves younger Americans politically vulnerable when other political actors seek to exclude them from the political process. Many are familiar with the classic adage related to descriptive representation: "if you don't have a seat at the table, you're on the menu." Younger Americans have few seats at the table at the federal or state levels. This makes young people especially vulnerable targets for policies that seek to reduce their political participation.

27. As I will describe in greater detail throughout this Report, the political (under)representation of younger Americans is, in part, related to *election policy and administration*. When states implement policies that increase or decrease burdens related to young people's ability to register to vote, it affects the representation of younger Americans in elected office and, ultimately, policy outcomes (Bertocchi et al. 2020).

## **V. Motivations and Attempts to Reduce Youth Voting**

28. American democracy has come under strain in recent years.<sup>7</sup> The early and mid-20<sup>th</sup> century saw significant democratization in the U.S., including women's enfranchisement and the end of Jim Crow voting laws and procedures. In more recent decades, however, some state governments have taken steps to make it more challenging to vote. Contemporary examples of state level legislation that makes voting more difficult are not as undemocratic as those under Jim Crow—but they are of meaningful consequence for the health of American democracy.

29. Why have some states attempted to make voting more challenging? An important cause is *demographic change*, which has increased political conflict and polarization over American democratic institutions. While many prominent voices have

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<sup>7</sup> Democracy is a broad concept. In this report, I focus primarily on *electoral democracy*, a subcomponent of democracy more generally. Additional subcomponents of democracy that I do not focus on in this report might include deliberative democracy, liberal democracy, egalitarian democracy, and participatory democracy (Lindberg et al. 2014).

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emphasized the roles of race and immigration in demographic change (e.g., Bartels 2020), recent threats to voting rights and democratic institutions in the U.S. are often based, in large part, on demographic change related to *age generations*.

30. There are two clear reasons why some political actors would attempt to reduce the voting participation of younger Americans. First, as I showed earlier, the political attitudes and beliefs of Millennials (born 1981-1996) and especially Gen Z (born 1997-2012) are very distinct from those of Gen X (born 1965-1980), Baby Boomers (born 1946-1964), and the Silent Generation (born 1928-1945). These age differences in attitudes are not ephemeral; they are apparent on highly consequential questions of policy and ideological beliefs, and they are persisting even as Gen Z and Millennials approach middle age. Second, Millennials and Gen Z are large generations whose members are increasingly eligible to vote. Millennials are the most populous generation in history, and the youngest members of the similarly large Gen Z cohort will become eligible to vote as they turn 18 years old in the year 2030.

31. These reasons provide a logical *motive* for attempting to reduce younger Americans' voter turnout. However, it is generally socially frowned upon to suggest reducing the political participation of those you disagree with. Instead, a common *public justification* for wanting to reduce the political participation of younger Americans is that young people are not informed enough to vote.

32. Indeed, the argument that some citizens' intellectual capacity is so low that their participation would harm society has been central to historical opposition to expanding the franchise first to White non-property-owning men, then to (White) women, Native Americans, and Black Americans (Keyssar 2009). Yet while an informed citizenry is important to democratic functioning, American democracy (like democracies around the world) has thrived as it has expanded its electorate to groups that many at the time considered to be less informed. Furthermore, there is little incentive to expend effort informing yourself about politics if you are from a group that is disenfranchised, so expanding access to political participation produces an incentive for people to become informed. However, the most important set of reasons to reject the notion that only the informed should vote are principles of citizenship and political equality (Dahl 2007). As Hoschild (2010, 120) writes:

Obtaining the right to participate in democratic governance is a sign of respect, dignity, autonomy, and control for individuals and perhaps for the group they represent; that is why so many people fought for so long to ensure that women and African Americans could not participate. [O]ther virtues of democratic expansion [include]: abstract justice, a desire to purify politics in moral or religious terms, fear of social unrest if dissatisfied people have no legitimate channel to express grievances, provision of an arena to develop



organizational capacities and promote civic virtue, and belief that each person is the best expositor of his or her own interests.

33. Despite these principles of republican democracy, demographic change has led a number of political candidates and elites to argue that it would be good to reduce the political participation of young American citizens. One speaker recently addressed a major party's national committee with the argument that it was too easy for young people to vote.<sup>8</sup> Vivek Ramaswamy, a high profile presidential primary candidate, proposes to increase the legal voting age to 25.<sup>9</sup>

34. Opposition to younger Americans' political participation is not confined to political rhetoric. Recent legislation at the state level has sought to reduce voter turnout among young people. A number of states with voter identification (ID) requirements do not accept college identification cards as a valid form of voter ID, including Arizona, North Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas (despite sometimes allowing for alternative forms of identification that are more commonly held by older individuals).<sup>10</sup> Other states have current legislative proposals to restrict or ban the use of college identification cards as valid voter ID, including Idaho, Kentucky, and New Hampshire;<sup>11</sup> North Carolina Senate Bill 824 ratified in 2018 created more restrictive requirements for student identification cards to be used as valid voter ID.<sup>12</sup> A legislative proposal in Texas in 2023 sought to ban polling places on college campuses.<sup>13</sup> Many states have also opposed updating their existing election policies in ways that would increase the participation of young people. It is important to note that *many politicians in both major U.S. political parties* hope to—and have incentives to—keep youth turnout low, whether in primary elections, general elections, or both. There is substantial generational polarization within both political parties, with younger and older members of the same

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<sup>8</sup> Josh Dawsey & Amy Gardner, *Top GOP lawyer decries ease of campus voting in private pitch to RNC*, WASH. POST (April 20, 2023),

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2023/04/20/cleta-mitchell-voting-college-students/>.

<sup>9</sup> Meg Kinnard, *Ramaswamy proposes raising voting age to 25, unless people serve in military or pass a test*, Associated Press (May 11, 2023), <https://apnews.com/article/vivek-ramaswamy-voting-age-2024-president-ea1429836e8f809fbf301b7b027f4ab9>.

<sup>10</sup> Fair Elections Center's Campus Vote Project, *Student ID as Voter ID*, <https://campusvoteproject.org/student-id-as-voter-id/>.

<sup>11</sup> McKenna Horsley, *College photo IDs would no longer suffice to vote in Kentucky under bill moving in Senate*, KY. LANTERN (Jan. 24, 2024), <https://kentucky Lantern.com/2024/01/24/college-photo-ids-would-no-longer-suffice-to-vote-in-kentucky-under-bill-moving-in-senate/>.

<sup>12</sup> Jessica Sammons, Legis. Analysis Div., Senate Bill 824: Implementation of Voter ID Const. Amendment (2018), [https://dashboard.ncleg.gov/api/Services/BillSummary/2017/S824-SMBK-172\(e1\)-v-2](https://dashboard.ncleg.gov/api/Services/BillSummary/2017/S824-SMBK-172(e1)-v-2).

<sup>13</sup> Hope Merritt, *Texas lawmaker proposes bill to prohibit polling places at colleges*, KBTX3 (Feb. 17, 2023), <https://www.kbtx.com/2023/02/18/texas-lawmaker-proposes-bill-prohibit-polling-places-colleges/>.

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party holding distinct policy attitudes and voting for different candidates in recent primary elections.

35. Thus, there is a motive for some political actors to reduce youth voting. But is there the capability and opportunity to do so? When it comes to young voters, the answer is very much “yes.” Among large demographic groups, young people are especially vulnerable to increased burdens on voting. Indeed, differences in election and voting systems are a main reason why the age gap in voter turnout is much starker in the United States than in other democracies around the world (e.g., Angelucci, Carrieri, and Improta 2024).

36. Both in North Carolina and across the country, young people have significantly higher rates of residential mobility than older people (Grumbach and Hill 2022). Moving residences creates new obstacles to casting a ballot, including re-registering to vote and learning new norms and procedures of voting under a new electoral precinct assignment. These new obstacles are often directly related to disruptions and delays to physical mail.

37. In the next sections of this Report, I provide more detailed analysis the roles of residential mobility and physical mail as obstacles especially for younger Americans’ electoral participation, the role of same-day registration policies in youth turnout, and the importance of voting habits established early in one’s adult life.

## **VI. Age, Residential Mobility, and Voting**

38. So far, I have presented my expert opinion that generational polarization in political attitudes provides some politicians an interest in reducing the political participation of younger Americans, who are already starkly underrepresented in politics. In this section, I highlight how residential mobility and physical mail represent important barriers to youth voting. Across the country, people who move to new residential addresses must re-register to vote. This affects an especially large number of people who change residences in states that lack automatic voter registration policies. Indeed, political science research has long understood that “the requirement that citizens must register anew after each change in residence constitutes the key stumbling block in the trip to the polls” (Squire, Wolfinger, and Glass 1987, 45), and that this “stumbling block” is more likely affect younger individuals (Ansolabehere, Hersh, and Shepsle 2012).

39. In addition to the “stumbling block” of registration, moving residences often entails changes to voting procedures, including unfamiliar in-person electoral precinct assignments and distinct rules and informal norms related to the practices of poll workers and county election administrators, which also create obstacles to casting a ballot.



40. Physical mail is often a mechanism by which residential mobility-related challenges to registering and voting manifest. Stated another way, moving residences reduces voter turnout in large part because it creates important disruptions and delays to one's ability to receive and read physical mail. Contact by candidate campaigns, including in-person canvassing and direct mail, increases voter engagement and turnout (e.g., Gerber and Green 2000). Campaigns target potential voters to persuade and/or encourage to vote using registrants' addresses found in publicly available and commercial "voter files." Young people, due to their residential mobility, are less likely to receive this kind of campaign contact. Indeed, one important study finds that many get-out-the-vote campaigns tend to target high-propensity voters, such as older people, which ends up increasing turnout among these already well-represented groups rather than underrepresented groups like young people (Enos, Fowler, and Vavreck 2014).

41. Even after settling into a new residence, young people are disproportionately likely to face mail-related complications. Apartment complexes have various forms of mailrooms and sets of mailboxes that tend to involve more confusion and human error than a mail slot or mailbox at a single-family residence. College students often receive mail through a centralized campus mail office that may create delays due to the necessity of sorting mail for thousands of students upon receipt from the U.S. Postal Service and other parcel carriers. Consistent with younger Americans facing greater mail-related complications, survey-based studies that recruit subjects by physical mail or e-mail find that college students are the only group for which e-mail invitations are responded to at similar rates as physical mail (Shih and Fan 2009).<sup>14</sup> An analysis of North Carolina college students who lost their right vote since 2008 highlights the importance of these and other mail-related barriers, many of which were further exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic (Peck et al. 2021).

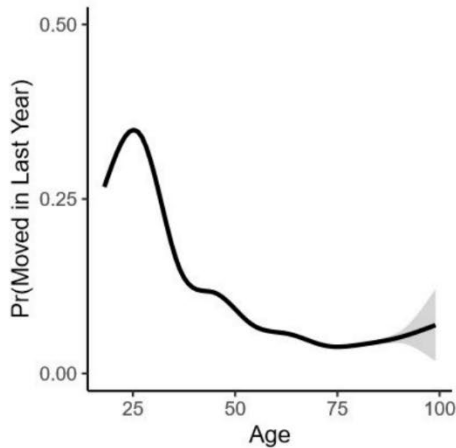
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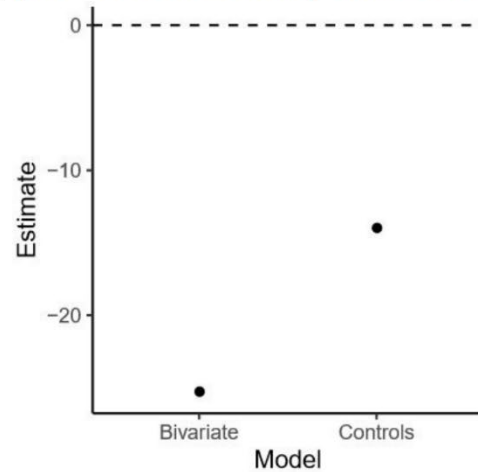
<sup>14</sup> From the perspective of researchers, this means that younger Americans are the only group that can be reached just as effectively with a costless e-mail as with costly physical mail. The Shih and Fan (2009) study is also now 15 years old; these findings about the relative ineffectiveness of physical mail at reaching younger Americans are likely to be stronger now given the growth of young people's use of technology.

**Figure 5: Relationship between Age, Residential Mobility, and Turnout from Grumbach and Hill (2022, Appendix p. 28)**

**(a) Age and Residential Mobility**



**(b) Residential Mobility and Turnout**

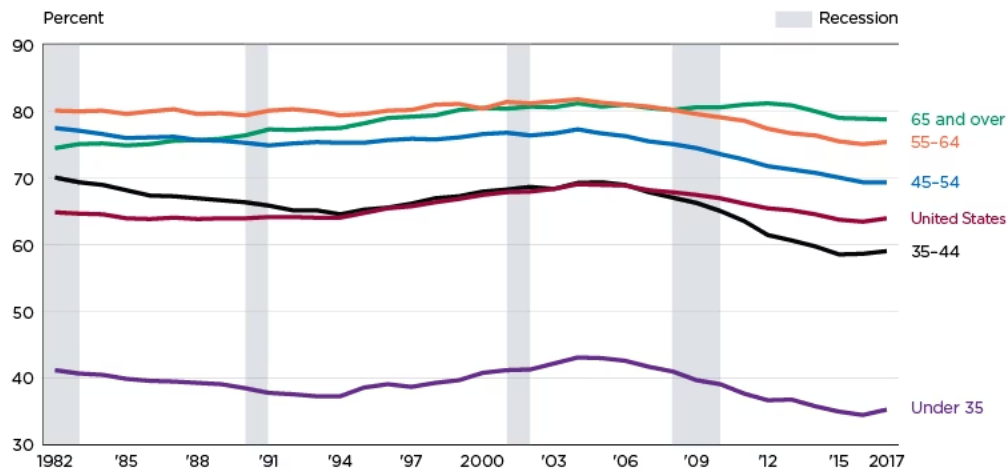


42. I provide some statistical analysis showing how young people are more residentially mobile, and that this residential mobility reduces turnout, in [Figure 5](#). As shown in Panel (a) of Figure 5, young people are *much* more likely to move residences, and move residences much more frequently, than older people. As documented in demography research (e.g., Speare 1970; Coulter and Scott 2015), this is largely a life-cycle effect based in common circumstances facing young people, including residence in rental housing, new jobs, enrollment in school, and changing romantic relationships. Owning a home, which is the greatest predictor of remaining in a residence due to the high transaction costs of selling a home, is highly correlated with age.

43. Using Census Current Population Survey data, [Figure 6](#) shows that older people have long been about twice as likely to own a home as people under 35.

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**Figure 6: Homeownership by Age**



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey/Housing Vacancy Survey, February 27, 2018; recession data from the National Bureau of Economic Research, <[www.nber.org](http://www.nber.org)>.

44. With the knowledge that younger people make up the bulk of residential movers, Figure 5 Panel (b) shows the powerful relationship between changing residences and turning out to vote. The results from the two statistical models suggest that moving in the past year reduces one’s likelihood of voting by between 14 and 24 percentage-points, a staggering amount. Overall, residential mobility is a main obstacle to voting for Americans of all ages, but young people are most likely to face this obstacle due to their life circumstances. In the next section, I explain how same day voter registration policies assist Americans, especially young people, in overcoming barriers to voting.

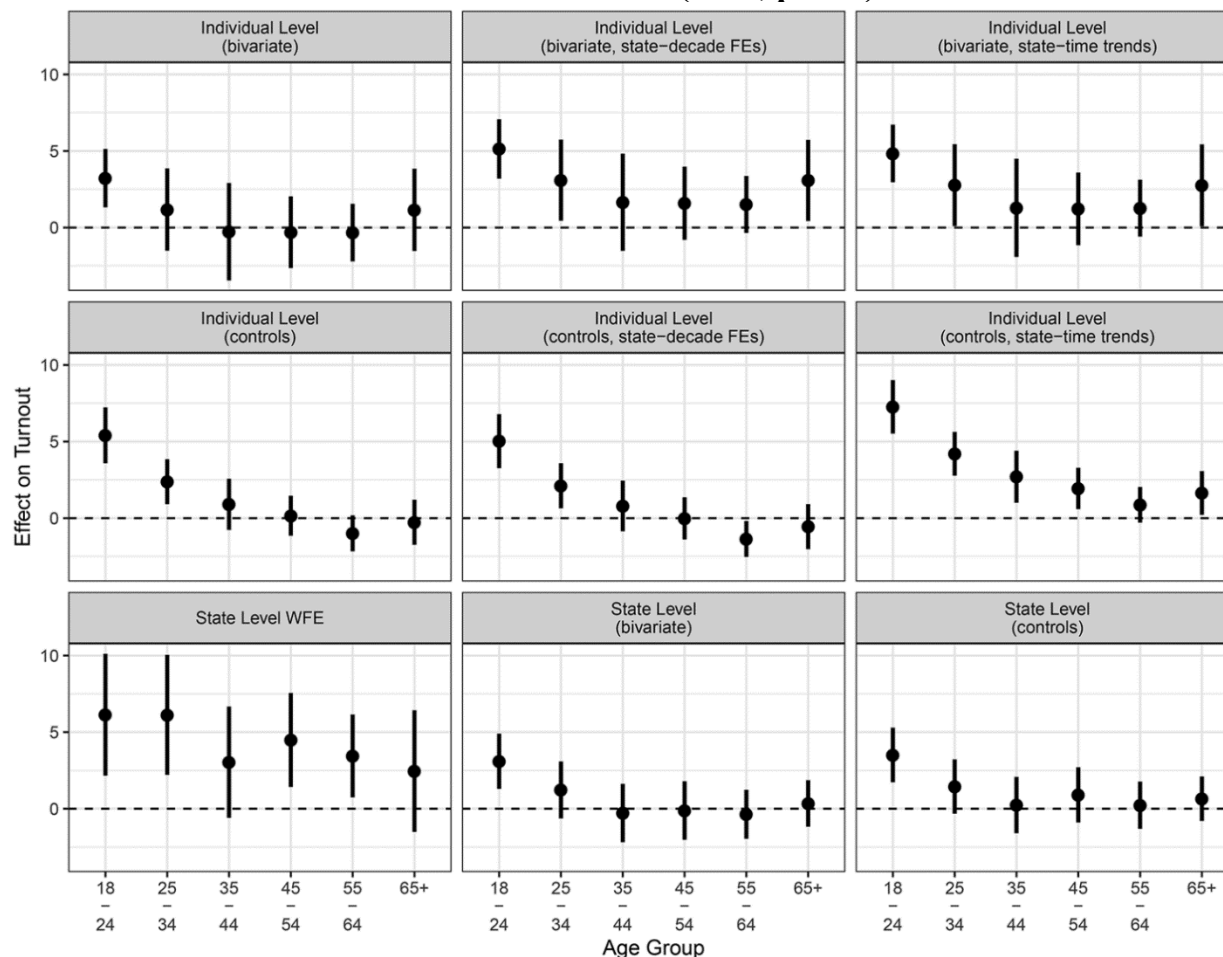
## VII. Same Day Registration and Youth Turnout

45. As the last section describes, residential mobility is a major barrier to voting, and younger people are much more mobile. Same day voter registration policies—whose history stretches back to the early 1970s in states like Maine, Minnesota, and Wisconsin—offer an important solution. By reducing barriers related to residential mobility and other factors, same day registration increases voter turnout, especially among younger people. This is not a trivial point. This increased turnout matters for substantive representation: making voter registration more convenient for younger Americans brings U.S. public policy more in line with the preferences of younger Americans (Bertocchi et al. 2020).

46. Grumbach and Hill (2022) use a “difference-in-differences design” to estimate the causal effect of same day registration on voter turnout by age group. These results are shown in Figure 7 using alternative statistical model specifications. In most of the models, same day registration increases turnout across most or all age groups. But in

all of the models, same day registration increases turnout significantly, consistently, and most of all for younger people.

**Figure 7: Effect of Same Day Registration on Turnout by Age Group from Grumbach and Hill (2022, p. 412)**



47. Grumbach and Hill (2022) include North Carolina as a same day registration state in the analyses. However, it is important to note once again that North Carolina is the only same day registration state that does *not* allow for same day registration on Election Day, only allowing it during the early voting period.

48. North Carolina's same day registration system is therefore already restrictive compared to those of other states. The same day registration physical mail verification provision in SB747 further narrows the state's same day registration system. This provision requires that the local county board of elections sends mail verification within two business days after a same-day registration ballot is cast, and if the piece of mail is returned as undeliverable before the close of business on the business day before canvass, the ballot is retrieved and removed from the final count.

49. It is critical to note that, despite same day registration having a clear effect on turnout, a change in election administration can still problematically increase barriers to voting even if it does not have an effect on voter turnout. Zhang (2022) calls this the distinction between “vote suppression,” where overall turnout is causally affected, and “voter suppression,” where voting becomes more burdensome but citizens may or may not overcome these burdens to cast their ballot.

50. For example, we would find it undesirable if a new policy forced us to stand in long lines in order to pay our monthly electricity bills (while, perhaps, others were able to pay their bills in much more accessible ways)—but many of us would still wait out the line to ensure our bill is paid on time. Still more of us would wait out the line if “bill payers’ rights organizations” mobilized us with information and advocacy about paying our bills. One might argue that the new “electricity bill line policy” was unproblematic because nearly everyone who wanted to pay their electricity bill successfully did so, but it is fair to call such a position quite strange. Similarly, when it comes to voting, erecting new barriers is problematic for republican democracy even when the barriers fail to cause substantial reductions in turnout. The creation of new barriers related to same day registration, importantly, is problematic on its own *and* is likely to reduce turnout especially among younger Americans.

51. Perhaps the most common justification for increasing barriers to registration or voting is to prevent voter fraud. Here it is worth noting that elections in the U.S., including in states that offer same day voter registration, are highly secure. The evidence is consistent and clear: voter fraud in elections in the U.S., which are administered by state and county governments, is exceedingly rare (Wu et al. 2020; Eggers, Garro, and Grimmer 2021). Voter fraud is a felony that carries severe criminal penalties under North Carolina state law. The physical mail verification provision of SB747 would increase a barrier to voting, especially for young people, without a clear corresponding improvement in election security. In the next section, I describe how creating new burdens on voting in early adulthood may have lasting ramifications by disrupting the development of voting as a habit.

## **VIII. Disrupting Voting Habit Formation**

52. Political scientists have long understood voting as *habitual*: voting in a past election increases one’s likelihood of voting in subsequent elections (e.g., Brody and Sniderman 1977; Dinas 2012). Encouraging someone to vote who otherwise would not have turned out substantially increases the chances that they vote in future elections, especially earlier in the life cycle (Gerber, Green, and Shachar 2003; Coppock and Green 2016). Conversely, discouraging someone from voting by, for example, increasing the burdens of registering or casting a ballot, has similarly lasting effects. Habituation is an important mechanism behind voter turnout in countries across the world (Schäfer,

Roßteutscher, and Abendschön 2020), but it takes on greater importance in the United States because of its unique system of voter registration (Bryant et al. 2022).

53. One of the most rigorous recent analyses of the habit of voting comes from Coppock and Green (2016). The authors leverage randomized get-out-the-vote (GOTV) experiments and regression discontinuities of age eligibility to isolate the effect of voting in a given election on future elections. Importantly, this study is able to isolate individuals who, absent something like the push of a GOTV effort, would not have voted in the initial election. This ensures that the analysis, in turn, isolates the causal effect of voting in a previous election on voting in a subsequent election. The analyses estimate a causal effect of voting in a past election, independent of all other reasons why someone might vote (such as interest in politics, demographic factors, etc.)—and find large effects on voting in downstream elections, nearly 10 percentage-points in the main estimates.

54. The power of habitual behavior in voting should not be understated. As Aldrich, Montgomery, and Wood (2010, 536) write, “[s]ome people decide to turnout...as the result of deliberation or conscious weighing of relevant factors. Other citizens determine whether to vote as the result of what is understood theoretically in social psychology as habituated responses.” When voting is not (yet) habitual, it often requires a confluence of favorable conditions—and potentially external pressure, such as from family members or get-out-the-vote organizations—for an individual to vote. By contrast, when voting is a habit, an individual votes in each election as a routine; such an individual is likely to see his or her practice of voting as a natural part of living in his or her community or of being an American citizen.

55. When an individual’s intention to vote is obstructed by changes to administrative requirements (related to, e.g., voter registration or voting by mail), his or her *habit* of voting is also obstructed. More specifically, political science research shows that when an individual’s ballot is rejected due to administrative procedure, he or she is less likely to vote in subsequent elections (Miller et al. 2024). The most likely causal mechanism here is that individuals whose ballots are rejected experience “alienation from the political process” (Miller et al. 2024, 28).

56. Taken as a whole, political science literature suggests that creating new barriers, even minor ones, can have lasting consequences for those who have not yet developed voting as a habit. Younger Americans, inherently due to the recency of their aging into eligibility to vote, have not yet developed voting as a habit.

## **IX. Conclusions**

57. Young people are already deeply underrepresented in American politics. In this report, I provide evidence that generational polarization provides a motive, and young people’s life circumstances provide an opportunity, for political actors to use



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public policy to further reduce the political participation and representation of younger Americans. Because voting is habitual, these efforts to reduce young people's participation have lasting ramifications.

58. Young people are disproportionately likely to face barriers to voting related to residential mobility, including issues related to physical mail. Same day voter registration serves as important way for Americans, especially younger Americans, to overcome common barriers to voting. Creating additional requirements to use the same day registration system presents a risk for young people's participation. This risk is greater given that SB747 would add additional requirements involving physical mail within a relatively short time frame.

59. The questions discussed in this report are central to contemporary issues in the American political system. Generational polarization, combined with the stark underrepresentation of younger Americans in elected office—which stems from the *already* disproportionate challenges that younger citizens face in registering and casting ballots—provides some political actors the motive and capacity to make voting more burdensome for younger Americans. Additional barriers to voting are problematic even in cases where Americans overcome all obstacles in the way of casting their ballots (Zhang 2022), but in this case, making same day registration more restrictive is likely to reduce turnout among some North Carolinians, especially younger residents. This discouraging effect may not only exist in the short term, but also in the long term as it disrupts habit formation for younger voters.

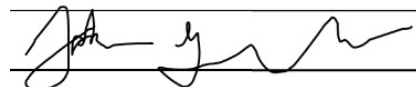
60. To the best of my knowledge, the foregoing report includes all of the opinions I have formed to date that, if called upon to testify, I would provide in this matter. I have also included in the text, footnotes, and appendix all of the bases and reasons for these opinions, as well as all of the data, facts, assumptions, and authorities considered in forming them.

\* \* \*

The conclusions in this Report are based upon the facts and information available to me as of the time of its drafting. I reserve the right to amend and supplement the opinions expressed in this Report in light of additional facts or information brought to my attention concerning this matter.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746(2), I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing Declaration is true and correct in substance and in fact to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Executed on: March 5, 2025

  
Jacob M. Grumbach, Ph.D.





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**Appendix B: Additional Materials Reviewed or Considered**

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# EXHIBIT A

# Jacob (Jake) Martín Grumbach

Curriculum Vitae updated February 2025

CONTACT INFORMATION	2607 Hearst Avenue UC Berkeley Berkeley, CA 94720	grumbach@berkeley.edu Website
RESEARCH INTERESTS	American Politics, Political Economy, Methods (Statistics), Public Policy, Race and Inequality, Labor, Federalism	
ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS	<b>UC Berkeley</b> Associate Professor, Goldman School of Public Policy (2023–)  Affiliations: Democracy Policy Lab (Faculty Director); Berkeley Economy and Society Initiative; Political Economy Designated Emphasis  <b>University of Washington</b> Associate Professor, Department of Political Science (2022-2023) Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science (2019–2022)  <b>Princeton University</b> Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics (2018–2019)	
EDUCATION	<b>University of California, Berkeley</b> Ph.D., Political Science (2012–2018) M.A., Political Science Dissertation: <i>Polarized Federalism: Activists, Voters, and the Resurgence of State Policy in the U.S.</i> , winner of the 2019 E.E. Schattschneider Award and the 2019 William Anderson Award Committee: Paul Pierson and Eric Schickler (co-chairs), Sarah Anzia, Sean Gailmard, Amy Lerman Fields: American Politics, Methods, Public Policy and Organization  <b>Columbia University</b> B.A., <i>Political Science and History</i> , (2006–2010) Honors: <i>cum laude</i> , Departmental Honors in Political Science	
BOOK	<i>Laboratories Against Democracy: How National Parties Transformed State Politics</i> Princeton University Press, 2022 Selected for <i>The New Yorker</i> 's "Best Books of 2022" Winner of the 2023 Merze Tate - Elinor Ostrom Outstanding Book Award (formally known as the APSA Best Book Award) Winner of the 2023 Virginia Gray Award for best political science book on the subject of U.S. state politics or policy Reviewed in <i>Boston Review</i> ; <i>Democracy Journal</i> ; <i>Political Science Quarterly</i> ; <i>Publius: The Journal of Federalism</i> ; <i>Foreign Affairs</i> ; <i>The New Republic</i> ; <i>Jacobin</i>	
PEER REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS	Terri Adams-Fuller, John Ahlquist, <b>Jacob M. Grumbach</b> , and Tess Starman. "Mobilizing Frontline Workers Against Wage Theft." Conditionally accepted at <i>Labor Studies Journal</i> .	

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#### WORKING PAPERS

“Old Money: Campaign Finance and Gerontocracy in the United States” with Adam Bonica (Revise & Resubmit at *Journal of Public Economics*)

“The Insulation of Local Governance from Black Electoral Power: Northern Cities and the Great Migration” with Robert Mickey and Daniel Ziblatt

“Intersectional or Inseparable? Connecting Theory to Estimands in Studies of Identity” with Aaron R. Kaufman and Chris Celaya

“Are Large Corporations Politically Moderate? Using Money in Politics to Infer the Preferences of Business” with Paul Pierson

“When Governments Learn from Copartisans: Partisan Policy Diffusion,” winner of the 2019 APSA Award for Best Paper in Public Policy

“Can Segregated Schools Make Equal Citizens? Southern Education and Black Political Power, 1918-1972” with Omar Wasow

“Testing City Limits: The Rise of Healthy San Francisco”

#### AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

APSA State Politics & Policy Emerging Scholar Award, 2023

APSA Political Organizations and Parties Emerging Scholar Award, 2021

Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies Award for Best Paper Presented at the New Perspectives in Legislative Studies Conference, “Laboratories of Democratic Backsliding,” 2021

Honorable Mention for American Sociology Association Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship in Population Award, 2021

APSA Award for Best Paper in Race and Ethnic Politics (with Alexander Sahn and Sarah Staszak), “Race, Gender, and Intersectionality in Campaign Finance,” 2020

Bridges Center for Labor Studies Course Development Grant, 2020

APSA Award for Best Paper in Public Policy, “When Governments only Learn From Co-partisans: Partisan Policy Diffusion,” 2019

E.E. Schattschneider Award for Best Dissertation in American Politics, 2019

William Anderson Award for Best Dissertation in Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations, or State and Local Politics, 2019

Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship, 2017–2018

APSA Class and Inequality Section Graduate Student Award, 2016

Mike Synar Graduate Research Fellowship, 2015–2016

Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor, 2015–2016

Eugene Cota-Robles Fellowship, 2012–2013

RESEARCH GRANTS “Authoritarian Policing and America’s Incomplete Democratization” with Rob Mickey and Dan Ziblatt. Russell Sage Foundation (\$150,000), 2022.

“Campaign Finance and Representation.” University of Washington Royalty Research Fund (\$32,926), 2022.

#### TEACHING

POL284: Introduction to Labor Studies, University of Washington

POL382: State and Local Politics, University of Washington

POL555: State and Local Politics (Graduate), University of Washington

POL501: Quantitative Methods for the Social Sciences I (Graduate), University of Washington

POL503: Quantitative Methods for the Social Sciences II (Graduate), University of Washington

PS1AC: Race, Inequality, and American Politics, UC Berkeley

- Teaching Instructor, American Cultures (AC) Teaching Workshop

HIST102: U.S. History 1865-Present, Prison University Project at San Quentin State Correctional Facility (Patten University)

#### EXTERNAL SERVICE

Editorial Board; *Journal of Politics*, 2021-

Academic Advisory Board; Economic Policy Institute, 2023-

Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession, 2022-2025

William Anderson Award Committee, APSA, 2024

Emerging Scholar Award Committee, APSA American Political Economy Section, 2024

Advisory Board; Washington Institute for the Study of Inequality & Race, 2020-2022

Dissertation Award Committee, APSA American Political Economy Section, 2023

Nominations Committee, APSA REP Section, 2021-2022

Emerging Scholar Award Committee, APSA Political Organizations & Parties Section, 2022

Outreach Coordinator, APSA Class & Inequality Section, 2020-

Best Paper Award Committee, APSA Federalism Section, 2021

Graduate Student Poster Award Committee; APSA Class & Inequality Section, 2019

Bay Area Graduate Student Fellow; Scholars Strategy Network, 2014–2015

Coordinator, Colloquium on the Study of Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration; Institute of Governmental Studies, UC Berkeley, 2013–2015

Coordinator, Research Workshop in American Politics; Institute of Governmental Studies, UC Berkeley, 2015–2016

#### REFeree

*American Journal of Political Science; American Political Science Review; American Politics Research; Business & Politics; Democratization; Demography; Educational Researcher; Election Law Journal; Governance; Health Affairs, Health and Place; Interest Groups & Advocacy; Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties; Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies; Journal of Health, Politics, Policy and Law; Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization; Journal of Politics; Journal of Public Policy; Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics; Labor Studies Journal; Legislative Studies Quarterly; Milbank Quarterly; Political Research Quarterly; Political Psychology; Political Science Quarterly; Politics & Society; Politics, Groups, and Identities; PS: Political Science & Politics; Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences; Public Policy and Administration; Publius: The Journal of Federalism; Quarterly Journal of Economics; Research & Politics; State Politics & Policy Quarterly; Studies in American Political Development*

#### CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

American Political Science Association (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024)

Midwest Political Science Association (2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019)

Western Political Science Association (2019, 2022)

#### INVITED TALKS

**2025:** Guinier Project Roundtable; Notre Dame Rooney Center Seminar

**2024:** Brown Watson Institute Distinguished Lecture Series; Columbia Labor and Democracy Conference; Harvard Law School Law & Policy Seminar; NBER Race and Stratification Conference; Occidental College Political Science; Princeton ‘Frontsliding’ Conference; Tulane Murphy Seminar in Political Science; UC Berkeley Research Workshop in American Politics; UC Berkeley School of Law Democracy and Rule of Law Series; UC Berkeley Winter American Politics Meeting; University of Colorado at Denver; UW Public Lecture Series

**2023:** Copenhagen Business School Political Economy Seminar; Northwestern University Comparative Historical Social Sciences Colloquium; Stanford Electoral Reform Task Force; UC Berkeley GSPP Seminar; UC Berkeley Institute for Research on Labor and Employment (IRLE); UCLA Law School Protecting Democracy Series; University of Portland Mazzocco Lecture

**2022:** Harvard Law School Democracy Series; University of Pennsylvania American Politics Workshop; James Madison University Symposium on Teaching and Learning Racial Justice; Nuffield Politics Seminar at Oxford University; NYU American Politics Workshop; Boston University Political Science Speaker Series; Princeton Economics Future of the Labor Movement Meeting; Stanford Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law; UC Berkeley Research Workshop in American Politics; University of Houston Hobby School of Public Affairs Speaker Series; UW Public Lecture Series; Western Washington University Sandison Memorial Lecture; Yale American Politics and Policy Workshop; Yale Department of African American Studies Endeavors Colloquium

**2021:** Cornell PSAC; Harvard American Politics Workshop; University of Michigan Weiser Center for Emerging Democracies; USC Political Institutions & Political Economy Symposium; Vander-

bilt American Politics Workshop; UCSD Political Economy Research Seminar; UCLA Race & Ethnic Politics Seminar; UW Public Lecture Series

**2020:** Columbia University American Politics Speaker Series; Cornell University American Democracy Collaborative; Duke Race & Ethnic Politics Series; Johns Hopkins University Political Science Seminar; UW Center for the Study of Demography & Ecology; Michigan State Minority Politics Online Seminar Series; American University Political Science Research Seminar; University of Oregon Political Science Research Colloquium; UW Evans School of Public Policy; UW Washington Institute for the Study of Inequality & Race; University of Minnesota American Politics Colloquium; Vote.org Speaker Series; Yale American Politics and Policy Workshop

**2019:** National Institute on Money in Politics (Montana); Scholars Strategy Network Leadership Convening (Washington, D.C.)

**2018:** Oxford University Winant Symposium; UC Berkeley Law and New Political Economy Conference; UC Irvine Money and Politics Conference

#### ADVISING

Aaron Baker (Honors Thesis), Joe Calodich (Honors Thesis), Meagan Carmack (MA), Crystal Correa (Honors Thesis), Adelle Engmann (Honors Thesis), Megan Erickson (MA), Rachel Funk Fordham (PhD), Jintong Han (PhD), Steven Karceski (PhD Sociology), Sebastian Mayer (PhD), Becca Peach (MA), Morgan Wack (PhD), Hanjie Wang (PhD), Nicolas Wittstock (PhD)

#### SELECTED RESEARCH ASSISTANCE

Thomas Mann, Norman Ornstein, and E.J. Dionne (2017)

Margaret Boittin (2016–2017)

Prison University Project (PI: Amy Lerman and Jody Lewen, 2016)

Vesla Weaver and Amy Lerman (2015)

#### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Languages: English, Spanish

Statistical and Programming Languages: *R*, STATA, L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X, some Python